

Message Text

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PAGE 01 PRETOR 04182 171939Z
ACTION SS-25

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O R 171920Z AUG 77
FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8474
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L PRETORIA 4182

EXDIS

LONDON FOR MOOSE

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PDEV, RH, SF
SUBJECT: LAW AND ORDER IN TRANSITION PERIOD

REF: (A) LONDON 13682, (B) STATE 194988, (C) LUSAKA 2438,
(D) DAR ES SALAAM 3335,

1. IN VIEW OF NYERERE'S INSISTENCE ON A SPELLING OUT HOW THE ARMED FORCES QUESTION IS TO BE HANDLED, I SEE NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO GIVE HIM A STATMENT ON LAW AND ORDER ALONG THE LINES OF REFTEL A. IN PREPARING THIS I AGREE WITH STEVE LOW THAT WE SHOULD AVOID CONCEPTS THAT WOULD PLAY INTO THE HANDS OF SMITH AND VORSTER. I THOUGHT THE LONDON DRAFT OF PARA 3(12) IN REFTEL A DEFTLY AVOIDED THIS PITFALL WHILE MAINTAINING CONSISTENCY WITH PRESIDENT CARTER'S LETTER TO NYERERE.

2. IN TRYING TO ACCOMMODATE WHAT NYERERE WILL ACCEPT AND SMITH WILL NOT EXPLOIT, IT IS IMPORTANT TO KEEP IN MIND THAT EVEN IF THE LESS CONTROVERSIAL VERSION IN PARA 3(12) REFTEL A
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IS MAINTAINED, IT MAY STILL NOT MATERIALLY AFFECT SMITH AND VORSTER'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE PACKAGE AS A WHOLE. BOTH'S REPORT ON THE RESULTS OF YESTERDAY'S CABINET MEETING SUGGESTS THAT THERE WAS NO BREAKTHROUGH ON VORSTER'S UNWILLINGNESS TO FORCE SMITH TO ACCEPT WHAT HE ANTICIPATES SMITH WILL NOT BUY. THIS DESPITE THE FACT THAT THE PACKAGE WHICH VORSTER AND HIS CABINET REVIEWED SIDE-STEPPED THE ISSUE WHICH NYERERE IS NOW

INSISTING BE CLARIFIED. THERE IS NO GUARANTEE THEREFORE THAT EVEN A WATERED DOWN VERSION OF THE LAW AND ORDER STATEMENT (WHICH WOULD RISK NYERERE'S REJECTION) WILL RESULT IN SMITH ACCEPTING THE PACKAGE OR, IN CASE OF HIS REFUSAL, IN VORSTER DECIDING TO USE HIS MILITARY AND ECONOMIC LEVERAGE TO MAKE HIM STEP ASIDE.

3. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, I THINK IT IS IN OUR INTEREST TO MEET NYERERE'S CONCERNS (PROVIDED THESE ARE REASONABLE AND IN MEETING THEM WE AVOID GIVING SMITH AND VORSTER A PLAUSIBLE BASIS FOR REJECTING THE PACKAGE) SO THAT WE CAN GET ON WITH THE GAME PLAN. IN THE END THERE MAY BE NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO HAVE THE SHOWDOWN WITH VORSTER WHICH THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PACKAGE FORSEES IF HE DOES NOT PLAY BALL.
BOWDLER

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